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# The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1917

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PERIODICAL DIVISION

DON'T YOU KNOW BETTER THAN TO TELL THE TRUTH IN WASHINGTON?
TO THE ENVOYS OF RUSSIA
PRESIDENT WILSON AND ENVOY ROOT ARE DECEIVING RUSSIA. THEY SAY, "WE ARE A DEMOCRACY. HELP US WIN A WORLD WAR SO THAT DEMOCRACIES MAY SURVIVE."
WE, THE WOMEN OF AMERICA TELL YOU THAT AMERICA IS NOT A DEMOCRACY. TWENTY MILLION AMERICAN WOMEN ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE. PRESIDENT WILSON IS THE CHIEF OPPONENT OF THEIR NATIONAL ENFRANCHISEMENT.
HELP US MAKE THIS NATION REALLY FREE. TELL OUR GOVERNMENT THAT IT MUST LIBERATE ITS PEOPLE BEFORE IT CAN CLAIM FREE RUSSIA AS AN ALLY

*Ryan Walker—Courtesy New York Call*

**Democracy**

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### THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein)*, That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

### THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

*Introduced*

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

*Referred*

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

*Present Status*

*In the Senate*
Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

*In the House*
Before the Judiciary Committee.

### HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

*Drafted*

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

*First Introduced*

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

*Reported from Committee*

*In the Senate*

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

*In the House*

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

*Voted Upon*

*In the Senate*

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

*In the House*

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.


# The Suffragist

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## The Fight that Must Go On

TWO demonstrations in the name of liberty were held in Washington at noon on "Independence Day," July 4, 1917. One demonstration was held on one side of the White House, on the Monument grounds, and the other on the other side of the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue. And one of these gatherings is likely to make history.

Speaker Champ Clark, on the Monument side, stated to a great Fourth of July crowd the propositions upon which our government rests.

"'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,'" intoned the speaker. "You have the right to any sort of government you please . . . It is our highest duty so to live and act that we shall preserve and perfect free government and hand it down to our children."

And the great crowd about the Washington Monument roared and cheered.

On the other side of the White House a little group of women made a protest in the name of the same democracy that the Speaker's fine period revolved around. Thirteen suffragists, carrying the colors which, to them, typify the complete freedom of the future, carrying in advance a lettered banner, marched through a swirling crowd of men, as evidently patriotic as those who listened to the Speaker.

The lettered banner in advance, which caught the sun like a promise, carried the identical words that the Speaker was dramatizing not many rods away: "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

And the police force of the District of Columbia, ably assisted by a few male patriots in the crowd, fell upon that little procession of white-faced girls protesting with colored banners, and tore the banners and broke the staffs and arrested the standard-bearers, whose little protest symbolized the ineffectual demand voteless women have been making for liberty in this country for the last fifty years.

The crowd that amiably listened to the Speaker dispersed and forgot his periods. But the torn and trampled banner of the women boasting an unrealized democracy, was produced in a United States court the next day, when the women demanding liberty were "tried."

With the strange, sorry, yellow, mob-torn thing as a background, one pale young woman defied judges and courts. She said the fight for liberty must go on.

"The fight in which we are now engaged," said that girl, "is the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments. The method is one which has come within the displeasure of the law. But it has to be fought. And if it has to be fought in ways which this District refuses to permit, still it must go on. It is our duty to impress upon this government; upon the President of the United States at this time, the fact that women are unenfranchised—the insistent question which must be immediately settled by this government."

# Six Suffragists Are Tried by the United States Courts

WE don't know what to make of that. (The trial of the suffragists.) There is no woman question in Russia. Russia has no separate woman's party. Our women's freedom and rights have come to them naturally and they stand side by side with the men, but as a sex they have not been compelled to fight for recognition. We cannot understand the suffrage question as it exists in England and in the United States. . . . .

"Women in Russia possess the franchise, given to them upon terms of equality with Russian men, but they neither have had, nor needed a strong organization to fight for recognition, and there is absolutely no woman's party. All classes of Russian women now are united in their devotion to the new government."—*Statement by a Member of the Russian Mission to the United States. From the Philadelphia Public Ledger, June 28.*

THE United States versus Katherine Morey, Leah Neil, Mabel Vernon, Lavinia Dock, Maude Jamison and Virginia Arnold. This was the case that was called in the police court of the District of Columbia June 27 when six American women for the first time in the history of this country defended their right peacefully to promote suffrage. Technically these women were charged with "obstructing traffic." Their offense was carrying purple, white and gold tri-colored flags, and banners lettered with the democratic declarations of the President of the United States to the front of the White House.

For nve months the suffrage pickets of the National Woman's Party had, from their stations on Pennsylvania avenue, advertised the record of the President and Congress against national suffrage. They defended their right to continue to tell the truth about American democracy.

The trial was a typical police court travesty. Like distortions of justice and common sense are enacted daily in every city of this country. The unique feature was the fact that the six women tried, most of them young in years, went into that American court room undefended legally, with only their own rightness of purpose for defense, expecting what Americans are in the habit of calling "fair play." Inside of two hours their respect for United States courts had filtered away. They realized that the fatuous platitudes of the Judge, the verbose and timid citations of the district attorney, buttressed by large blue-coated policemen, were not contrived for the conservation of the rights of those denied citizenship.

The contention of the little group of women, with two able spokesmen, Miss Mabel Vernon and Miss Katherine Morey, was that they did not block traffic now any more than they had in the five months preceding, and that the persons who caused crowds to assemble were the police force of the District of Columbia, arresting with much pomp and flourish young women carrying familiar banners.

"Didn't the crowd congregate because you arrested twelve women, not because we carried banners and stopped in front of the White House? Did the crowd come to see the banners we had carried for five months, or to see you arrest us?" asked Katherine Morey, pertinently, of the policeman approximately four times her size who had arrested her.

THERE was a remarkable unanimity about the policemen testifying, and of the one male witness they had subpœnaed, one Fisher. They had all heard the collected crowd say the same things about the pickets,—that they were "a disgrace to womanhood" and should be made to "behave themselves." The one exception was Police Captain Sullivan, who had not learned his lesson well, apparently: "I heard a lady say, 'They're crazy,'" said the Captain, "and I turned around and told her I didn't think so!"

Miss Vernon demanded the exhibit in court of the banners which were causing the alleged violent opposition of Washington citizens. They were brought into court—an armful of the brilliant flags and lettered banners, with the effect of sunshine in that dull place. And the packed court-room crowd burst out laughing when they read the legend: "Mr. President, you say 'liberty is the fundamental demand of the human spirit." The "trial" of the pale girls sitting at that long legal table defending their "rights" began to look rather small to a number of men; they began to feel a little uncomfortable and ashamed. But the Judge and the district attorney played the farce out like finished performers.

There was technical discussion as to how much sidewalk space the young women occupied and how near the White House palings they stood. Not that the points made any difference. The little suffrage group had photographs which showed the deserted pavements at the time of the arrests, and the crowds gathered two minutes later around the police automobiles, but their production would not have changed the result. The Judge and the district attorney both attacked the astounding situation and waxed oratorical. Here are some of the Judge's epigrams:

"What is in my mind is important to you all . . .

"The courts as well as the public in general may not be interested in the principles which you advocate, but they are very much interested in the methods you are adopting . . .

"For instance, it might be that you tend to incommode the free passage of the sidewalk, and the principle of your advocation of political views must give way to the general rights of the public.

"It is a national question—the right of ladies voting, and therefore I have a right to take judicial notice of the fact that there are certain classes of people just as sincere as you ladies who believe you ladies ought not to have the vote . . .

"You must realize that your being there was the proximate cause of this idle curious crowd . . . It is a principle of law that if you are the proximate cause you take the consequences."

The district attorney compared the offense of the pickets to the case of Indiana Socialists who paraded with a red flag and bannered slogans of brotherhood which caused a "riot" of patriots. He was reminded by Miss Lavinia Dock that his citation was trite since the red flag of revolution is now the flag of free Russia. She also reminded the court that in 1909 English suffragists had picketed the gates of parliament for nearly a year, unmolested by police or crowds.

"But wouldn't it be a nice spectacle to have all kinds of organizations standing daily at the gates of the White House?" ridiculed the Court.

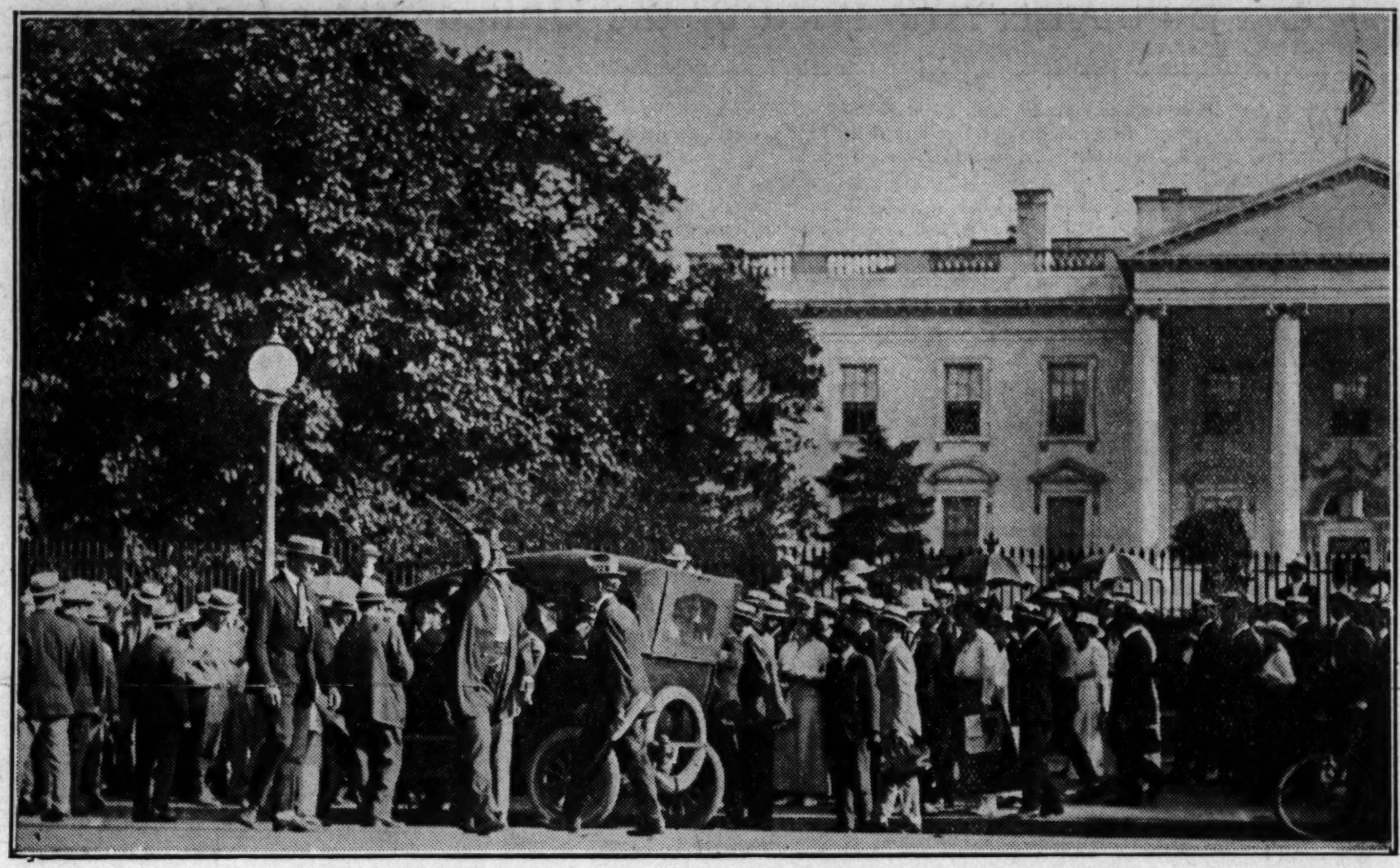
"Men have a way of coming here for what they want without banners," answered the young suffragist briskly, "and they have a way of getting what they want!" The laughter, which was not directed at the girl speaker, was suppressed.

Miss Virginia Arnold declared that she picketed at the White House because that method had proven the shortest and easiest way to reach "the mind of Congress." Miss Mabel Vernon described the long course of the picket, the demonstrations of winter and spring, the parades that brought hundreds of women from other States. "I say," she declared, "that if you think we were performing illegally for one hundred and fifty days, you should have interfered before the one hundred and fifty-first day arrived.

"*The fight in which we are now engaged,*" said Miss Vernon, finally, *is 'the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments.' The method is one which has come within the displeasure of the law here this morning. But it has to be fought. And if it has to be fought in ways which this District will not permit, still it must go on. It is our duty to impress upon this government; upon the President of the United States, the fact that women are unenfranchised—the insistent question which must be immediately settled by this government.*"

"I find these defendants guilty as charged," was the verdict of the Judge, "of obstructing the highway in violation of the police regulations and the act of Congress, and impose a fine of twenty-five dollars in each case, or in default of that, three days' imprisonment."

The six young women refused to pay the fine, or to make any promises as to future "good conduct." They were each sentenced to three days in the District jail.



District of Columbia Police Draw Crowds Arresting Suffragists in Front of the White House

Policewoman Arrests Florence Youmans of Minnesota and Annie Arniel of Delaware for Refusing to Give up Their Banners

# Another Police Department Blunder

**GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED**

THIS was the school primer maxim, from the Declaration of Independence, carried on a yellow banner, which, on "Independence Day," July 4, 1917, caused the arrest of thirteen suffragists, members of the National Woman's Party, who are maintaining their right to peacefully hold their propaganda banners in front of the White House, as they have for the past five months held them.

The women arrested today, as "The Suffragist" was going to press, the fourth group of suffragists to be arrested by the Washington police, come from many states, representing the East, the West, and the South. Besides the lettered banner of protest they carried the tri-colored purple, white, and gold flags of the Woman's Party, which were torn to ribbons by the police, or by the holiday crowds whom the action of the police encouraged.

The women who were arrested, and who went to the House of Detention rather than furnish bail, were Miss Joy Young, of New York; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Norwalk, Connecticut; Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore, of Detroit; Miss Vida Milholland, of New York; Mrs. Frances Green, of New York; Mrs. Lucile Shields, of Amarillo, Texas; Miss Kitty Marion, of New York; Miss Hazel Hunkins, of Billings, Montana; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia; Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of Cincinnati; Miss Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore; and Miss Iris Calderhead, of Marysville, Kansas.

The arrest and trial of these young women who are helping to make the difficult fight for real democracy at this critical time will be described in the next "Suffragist."

Police Snatching Banners and Arresting Suffragists, Showing Deserted Pennsylvania Avenue

# Why Arresting Pickets is Stupid

## A Word of Advice for the Administration

*By Gilson Gardner, Washington Correspondent of the Scripps Papers*

WHEN President Wilson's administration ordered the arrest of the suffrage pickets—and of course the police have taken their orders in this matter directly from the White House—the administration did a very stupid thing. Mr. Wilson for a moment forgot that the proper answer to words is words, and that any person or government which answers words with force substitutes tyranny for freedom.

From a political standpoint it is always stupid to forsake an appearance of justice.

Impatience, no doubt moved the President to order the picketing stopped. He was irritated. But so was the judge mentioned somewhere in the New Testament, who, though unjust, did the woman justice to be rid of her importunities.

It would have been so much more intelligent for Mr. Wilson to have crooked his finger to the Democratic house leaders and told them to let the measure go through. They all say they are merely waiting for the President to say the word. This would have removed the pickets and sent the suffragists to the forty-eight states seeking state ratifications. Could anything be more simple?

Arresting pickets is stupid for the following reasons:

It is a violation of the spirit, and probably the letter, of that section of the Clayton law which declares that peaceful picketing is legal. This law was passed during the first year of President Wilson's first term and he had declared himself to be in favor of it.

It is a violation of rights which were conceded to the women pickets when they were permitted to picket for nearly five months.

It is a violation of the fundamental right of every citizen of the republic, when not breaking the peace, to be exempt from arrest.

It is a violation of the right of quiet and legal citizens to be exempt from mis-trial and imprisonment.

It is stupid to infringe these rights in the case of the poor and unintelligent. It is poor public policy. It is more stupid and worse public policy to violate them in the case of persons having greater economic strength and more intelligence. The latter are supposed to enjoy the protection of our laws.

The arrest and jailing of the pickets is a purely political matter. No one should make the mistake of blaming the police, the prosecuting officers or the magistrate. These are merely the machinery which moves when the man at the top presses the button. Commissioner Brownlow gets his orders; Pullman gets his orders; Captain Sullivan gets his orders, and Policemen O'Brien, Ryan and Smith get their orders. And I will say for the latter, as an eye witness, that they did their work well. Man-handling nice girls is not a pleasant task. It is only a pity that the people at the top did not have to carry out their own orders.

But those whose business it is to find excuses for this sort of thing are frankly laying it on the war. They find their excuse in an appeal to "patriotism."

When twenty male loafers set upon one unprotected girl, snatch her banner and tear at her clothes, their action is called "patriotic." And comfortable, well-fed citizens, who would not give up an afternoon tea for anything they believe in, grow red in the face in denouncing the mobbed girl and applauding the human wolf-pack.

Now, frankly, is this patriotism?

How many of these sidewalk coyotes would give up the price of an afternoon paper for anything they believe in? How many of the well-dressed conventionalists would go to a lousy jail for a conviction?

Encouraging mob spirit by calling it patriotism is dangerous business. Seeking cover behind a

*Concluded on Page 9*

# A Police Department Farce

## How the District Guardians Discriminate Against Women Fighting for Democracy

By Iris Calderhead

I MUST conclude that I have been mistaken, heretofore, in crediting the American man with a sense of the ridiculous that would prevent him from committing the grotesque stupidities of his British brother in dealing with the woman suffrage demand. The course of events in England during the activities of the militants showed clearly that men in power deliberately and systematically compelled each advance step in militancy,—first by their stubborn denial of justice, and next by reason of repression. I saw something of that struggle, and often said, "The American man will not be so densely stupid because he has a keen sense of the ridiculous."

Wrong! The American brother at the very helm of government is making the identical blunder in persistent denial and shunting aside of a demand which is sharpened by the most dire emergencies. And as a result of this, repressive measures are now being resorted to, though it has been a thousand times proved that each act of force and denial kindles fresh fires of determined resolution on the part of those who are bound to be free. How far will an American administration go in copying the stupid densities of Englishmen? Why not imitate instead the splendid example of Russia?—*Statement of Lavinia Dock in the District Jail.*

PRESIDENT WILSON was to speak at the unveiling of the statue of Robert Emmett, the Irish rebel, in the National Museum. Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of New York, and I presented our cards of admission and took seats well toward the front of the speaker's platform. We were immediately accosted by a woman, who sat down behind us and said: "You recognize me, Miss Stuyvesant. I am here from the police department. We don't want any trouble here this afternoon. You are ladies and I am sure you understand this. Please give me the package you have. That's a banner in that newspaper and you will have to give it to me."

"I cannot possibly give you anything I have, Mrs. Farling."

Mrs. Farling left, to return after a minute and demand that we step out to the corridor. As soon as we were in the corridor, two large detectives stepped to our side and said: "Right down the stairs." But we paused for argument: "We have come here by invitation and we intend to hear the ceremonies."

"You must give us that banner and leave the building; or you may give us the banner and your word that you will create no disturbance, and you may go back. The police department will not be fooled with."

Mrs. Farling reminded us again that we were ladies and that John McCormack, who was her cousin, had a beautiful voice and was going to sing; and here we were spoiling the whole afternoon!

We said that we would not leave the building, and would not give up anything that we had with us. One of the detectives then said, "Consider yourselves under arrest." He took the newspaper package from Miss Stuyvesant and started us down the stairs. We asked where they were taking us and on what charge we were arrested. The detective answered: "We are taking you to the police headquarters and you will hear the charge when you get there."

"Do you usually arrest people without stating the charge?"

"Oh, no! But you suffragettes are different."

WE were taken to police headquarters, where Sergeant Grant heard Mrs. Farling tell what happened. He looked at the banner we had carried, and then launched forth on his opinion of our various public demonstrations, saying that in the present temper of the people during these war times he could not answer for what would happen to us if we continued. He pointed out that the police were "protecting" us.

"Why," said he, "what would you do if Roosevelt were in office? He wouldn't have stood for these actions of yours. You know what he was like if anybody tried to force him to do a thing. Here you have got a man that *smiles* when he goes in and out the gates. Why! Wilson was the only President that voted for woman suffrage.

"You are turning the people against you. It's a great mistake. Why! Whenever I've wanted to do anything I've always had to get public opinion back of me."

He seemed so troubled over our seeming minority that we tried to reassure him that we didn't need majorities to work great changes, that reforms didn't come that way. It still troubled him, however, so I asked him if he had ever worked for a cause.

"No," he said, "but I've done a good deal of work."

Then he came back to the work at hand of finding a charge against us.

Ours was a grave offense, he said, without stating what the "offense" was.

"Can either of you young ladies give bail, $25 apiece?"

When we refused, he said there was nothing to do but lock us up, and began taking our names. He knew Miss Stuyvesant, who had been arrested before, but he did not have my name, for I had refused to give it to the detective. He turned to me: "Your name?"

"Calderhead."

"When did you come to Washington, and where are you from?"

"I came to Washington on Tuesday and I come from Kansas."

"Kansas? Calderhead? Any relation to a former Congressman?"

"His daughter."

The Irish detective laughed. Sergeant Grant looked perplexed. The detective scribbled a note to him. He looked more worried. We began our insistent question as to the charge. He sent for the Code and Regulations, and studied them with concentration, then held a low, very low, voiced telephone conversation with Major Pullman. The result of this was his cordially saying to me: "Major Pullman would like to meet you, Miss Calderhead."

I said that I had no objection, as I had a question I wanted answered. I still wanted to know the charge on which we were being held. That started more reading of the Code book and finally we heard that it was unlawful to unfurl banners or carry signs in any public buildings or parks. This was the grave offense, punishable by sixty days' imprisonment or $100 fine. He ignored our protest that we had not unfurled any banner anywhere that day, but went on to mention Section 5 which we had also violated. Section 5 always remained a mystery.

After an hour and a half of waiting, Major Pullman was announced with "Ah! Major Pullman! Miss Calderhead has been wanting to meet you!" The major and I acknowledged this curious introduction, and Major Pullman, bent on more serious matters than the felicitations of police headquarters, went over to inspect our banner. He read:

> MR. PRESIDENT: Why be a liberal abroad and a conservative at home? Why advocate freedom for Irish men and deny freedom to American women. Why laud past struggles for freedom, and suppress the struggle for freedom at your gates."

"Every evidence of dangerous persons," was his comment.

We had caught something of the police department attitude towards those of higher authority and felt sure now with the chief on the case our question would at last be answered to our understanding, so once more we ventured: "On what charge are we being held?" Whereupon everybody in the office began to study the Code; Sergeant Grant read aloud Section 3, the regulation about unfurling banners, and again referred to Section 5, and finally this astounding answer came from the chief: "We could hold you on Section 3 or Section 5, or (with a sweep of his arm) any number of things."

Sergeant Grant rose and closed this strange two hour's effort to administer justice and to uphold the law with: "We will let you know if there is anything further from this office; you may leave by this door."

# Prison — and the Reaction

THE banners that have become unlawful on the streets of Washington dominated the scene when the imprisoned pickets were welcomed home by a hundred women from many States in the garden of Cameron House, the national headquarters. The high wall that enclosed the garden was hung with the purple, white, and gold tri-color, plainly visible from above the wall to the groups of the District police who daily guard the goings-out and comings-in of these women who are making their lonely fight for freedom.

It was not a spectacular welcome. The little group that had gladly gone to jail for a few days for a principle they believed in were not in the foreground. They refused to allow themselves to be made heroines. Those who dominated the colorful little group in the garden were the dozens of women from outside States who came to tell their colleagues they also were willing to stand on the firing line. Women from New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Virginia, representing workers and professional women, all bore witness that the arrest of a few women, an incident in itself, was typical of the fight for the enfranchisement of the women of this country, and that that fight must go on.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, who had carried the bannered message to the Russian envoys exposing our sham democracy, acted as toastmistress. Besides the little group of "prisoners," Mrs. Colt, of New York; Miss Mary Winsor, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Sophie G. Meridith, of Richmond, Virginia; Mr. John Reed, of New York; Miss Anne Martin, national vice-chairman, and Miss Lucy Burns spoke.

MABEL VERNON, of Delaware, voiced not only the spirit of the women who had been willing to go to jail, but the spirit of protest that marked the occasion when she said: "I don't want anyone here to think we have been martyrs because of this jail experience we have had. There was no great hardship connected with it. It was a very simple thing to do—to be imprisoned for three days, really two nights and a day. Do not think we have gone through any great sacrifices.

"But I don't feel patient about this experience. I do not want to go back to jail, and I don't want others to go, *because it should not be necessary.*

"Women have been too patient for the past fifty years. Now the spirit we want to have in every woman is a demand for political freedom so insistent that the government can no longer deny this demand. If this struggle causes us to go to jail, well and good. Go to jail! Why should we stop in our fight for liberty and ask if every act is in accordance with the law which men have made? I meant what I said at our trial last Wednesday, that if we had known that we were committing a violation of the law, we still would have gone on, if we were convinced that what we were doing was necessary for the advancement of the cause for which we are working.

"At this time of world conflict it is more incumbent than ever upon the members of the Woman's Party that they should keep on with single mind and determined purpose to win political freedom for the women of America. Do not falter! Do not give up—ever—until this work is done!"

MISS MARY WINSOR, of Philadelphia, president of the Limited Franchise League of Pennsylvania, talked of what she called President Wilson's long career of self-deception which has precipitated the very real protest of the women of this nation:

"Mr. Wilson confuses words with deeds. I think that is his whole trouble. When he says a thing three times, he actually believes it to be true, without going any further, when he has told us over and over again that this country stands for the fullest measure of liberty and democracy and freedom, he honestly believes that these things really exist. You can do this with a child. You can hand a child a pebble and say: 'This is a cake, and we shall have afternoon tea.' This is all right as long as it is a game and as long as you are dealing with children. It is a very different matter, however, when you are dealing with fundamental rights and with human beings, although their political rights are as those of children."

JOHN REED, author and, as he proudly acknowledged, fellow-convict, voiced that great fear of a vast number in this country at this time, the fear that the articulate voice of democracy itself is being smothered—and through the sinister use of what are called "law and order" methods.

"I was arrested for walking along the picket line during the strike at Paterson, New Jersey, in 1913, only I was given thirty days in the county jail. When I asked the judge what the charge was, he replied, 'Any more impertinence from you, and you will be fined $500 in addition for contempt of court.'

"I want to say this: I think our government is primarily a government by coercion. It makes no difference what the constitution says or what the laws say. The only thing that makes any difference is power. One of the biggest lawyers in the United States said to me about two weeks ago that the law was merely the instrument by which the rich furthered that which they wished to further and suppressed that which they wished to suppress.

"You have in England a demonstration of the value of being disagreeable to the government. What women are being given in England is the result very largely of the militant suffrage campaign which was carried on under Mrs. Pankhurst's direction,—the result of being disagreeable to the government.

"I was told at the Capitol a few days ago that you had alienated votes by your tactics these latter days, and that suffrage had been set back a great deal. This I do not believe. They are trying their best to find a way to give you suffrage without appearing to give in to you.

"Our plans for mankind during this war are going to smash. I think every one is coming to the realization that we are coming to a smash all over the world. It is in this reconstruction period that women are going to be invaluable. Political action is the only hope and only force which can avert the smash. In fact, it is only through political action that the world may be saved,—and it may be saved by women.

"In closing I just want to quote a little of my Walt Whitman, which, to my mind, is apropos:

"'I will write a song for the President full
of menacing signs,
And, back of it all, millions of discontented
eyes.'"

MISS LUCY BURNS, who has been three times arrested since the government persecution of suffragists began, spoke the final word: "The point for us to remember is that six American women have been arrested and imprisoned for holding banners before the White House, quoting President Wilson.

"At a time when we are prepared to sacrifice millions of lives for democracy in Europe women are told they are 'going too far' when they hold up six innocent banners in the United States. We are warned that we must not embarrass the government. The government could end the embarrassment at any time by passing the federal suffrage amendment. *They have no right to ask us to buttress their injustice by our silence.*"

## Why Arresting Pickets is Stupid

*Concluded from Page 7*

mob which has found immunity by calling itself patriotic is cowardly. When a man or an administration invokes the mob to drive away some little critic or some little criticism, when mob-force is invoked to answer words there is danger added to the stupidity of those who counsel. There is danger lest the people misread the purpose of those patriots who would make the world safe for democracy and may conclude that war is in fact a cover and excuse for any and all forms of brutality, and that the supposed fruits of democracy, free speech, personal liberty and security, are of no concern to the patriots who are charged with the carrying on of our war.

No. If jailing women pickets is in any way necessary to the successful conduct of this or any other war, then give us the horrors of an ignominious peace.

# Comments of the Press

## Real Patriotism

FOR four months—to be exact, 151 days—the pickets of the Woman's Party have stood twice a day on either side of the entrance ways of the White House. Besides the purple banners—their party colors—they have stood with banners inscribed with the President's own sayings on democracy. Going in or coming out, he was made to eat his own words, so to speak, with a few from Susan B. Anthony to break the diet.

"Congress would give us the vote should the President ask them to," said Alice Paul. "Nobody questions that."

Nobody, either, ever questioned their right of peaceful picketing. That is—people in authority. The police gave them special protection for their big picket lines on March 4. Police restrictions have been observed with the utmost care. The gay banners have lent the charm of solid color to the gray walls of senate and house office buildings. To keep up with the fashion of visiting foreign commissions, special messages have been cooked up and offered as the envoys rushed past.

Then why should a message to the Russian envoys cause so much temper to be slung around? Perhaps the war is spoiling the American appetite for fair play.

Anyway, when the message was again unfurled to the eyes of Pennsylvania avenue, one brave and braying patriot distributed it in inch bits among the passers-by for souvenirs. Some more brave than the rest shook the hands of the pickets in congratulation for their courage and real patriotism.—*Lou Rogers, New York Call, July 1.*

## Can't Even Ask It

THE picket which the *Congressional Union* has for long maintained at the White House gates has proved very irritating to the party in power. Yet the placards only ask the President to help get for American women the liberty he is proclaiming for all the world. Can't the disfranchised even ask for justice in a country so nobly going to the defense of oppressed nations?—*Canton, N. Y., Advertiser, June 19.*

## Truth Tellers

A SCORE of women have been arrested for telling the facts about suffrage by means of printed banners in front of the White House and the Capitol.

The women who are active in this contest have shown a spirit which belies the ancient term of "weaker sex." Their struggle is not only interesting, it is helping make history.—*The New York Call, June 28.*

## Democracy and Brickbats

IN the United States a suffragist asking a Congressman's support usually receives as an answer the political gentleman's request for a promise of suffrage support in his next campaign. The President refers suffrage delegations to Congress. Congress refers them back to the President, and their only hope of attracting attention at the capital is to insult the powers whom they have failed to arouse by any other means.

But before the United States has gone far in its war it will begin to learn England's lesson about women. It will find that women, sharing the industrial burden, the war-loss burden, the taxation burden, are people and entitled to a people's part in their government.

A Lucy Burns multiplied by 500-horsepower could not do more to embarrass the United States government than Mrs. Pankhurst has done in England; and yet Mrs. Pankhurst is given one of the foremost diplomatic positions in the world. It isn't safe, these days, to call a woman a fool for waving banners in Washington.—*Boston, Mass., Journal, June 22.*

## Let Congress Do Its Duty

IN spite of our repugnance to the picket, we must admire the perfect good temper of the women who, day after day, flaunt their banners in silent protest. Of course, it was awkward that the Russian mission should have been confronted by such displays, but the remedy lies with the government. Give the women their undoubted rights and the pickets will disperse. It is not through any discourtesy that the pickets stand to remind the world that Russia and England are enfranchising their women in war times, but rather as a reminder lest mankind forget that Mr. Wilson's own statement has been, "We are interested, politically speaking, in the United States, in nothing but human liberty."

The women protestants are an annoyance, of course, because they continually twit on facts, which is not pleasant to procrastinators. Why "an ugly mob," mainly government clerks, should undertake to tear down the accusatory banners is puzzling. Who constituted these hirelings defenders of a laggard Congress? Let the latter do its duty and there will be no occasion for suffrage pickets. We dislike to see them, but we dislike worse the neglect that impels their presence.—*Richmond, Va., Evening Journal, June 21.*

## There's the Rub

NOBODY will deny that the suffrage pickets were exactly correct in their assertion. With the women of the United States classed as aliens or felons—denied citizenship rights by all but the justice-loving states of the virile West—it is ludicrous for Washington diplomats to pose as teachers of democracy to the people of "benighted" Russia who have admitted the women of their country to equal political and civil rights with men.—*Miami, Florida, Daily Metropolis, June 24.*

## Honor Suffrage Soldiers

ALL honor to Alice Paul and her associates! The men who deride, belittle and insult them in their efforts for real—not sham—democracy are not really men—only a semblance. —*Ryerson A. Jennings, New York Tribune, June 30.*

## Justice—For Men Only

THERE is a strong element of justifiable logic in the denunciatory banners borne by the suffrage pickets at the White House gates, and, much as we deplore the accusation that "President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia," it is true that "America is not a democracy" so long as its women are denied the franchise.

Truly, a noble sentiment. Their own? O, no. The utterance of the President of the United State, one of his trenchant Americanisms that have helped to make history of late. Arrested for displaying a banner carrying such words? Yes. But the charge was for "obstructing traffic." Of course, that was absurd. They were not doing the obstructing. It was the "red-blooded patriots" who impeded the traffic. The little pale-faced pickets were attending strictly to their business, which was legal and constitutional. Russia and England have decided that their women are entitled to equal political rights with their men. That, also, is the contention of the pickets. That is the unswerving belief of *The Evening Journal.* To decry their pitiful little banners as seditious is ridiculous. It is another example of the male idea of justice—for men only.—*Richmond, Va., Evening Journal, June 23.*

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# Comments

## Help from the Northwest

MY DEAR MISS PAUL:—I have been watching with great interest the splendid progress of the National Woman's Party under your leadership. The work is certainly a distinct service to every woman in America and I feel that we should give substantial recognition to that valuable service.

It seems to me that you are taking the brunt of the fight right on the firing line. We want that work done, but we do not possess your vision and we do not realize the vast expenditure of time, energy, and money that the work requires. The least the women of America could do, would be to finance the work so that our leaders could spend all their time and energy in promoting the cause.

We are proud of our leadership and thank you for what you are doing for our enfranchisement. Enclosed please find check to pay in part my indebtedness. Remember there are thousands of women scattered over the country who are watching your achievements with pride and gratitude.—*Very sincerely yours, (signed) Mary E. McCumber, Grand Fork, North Dakota.*

## Miss Milholland Volunteers

I HAVE read of the unjust treatment by the police of the pickets and want to let you know that if you need any extra pickets I will come down. I think this is the most undemocratic country on the face of the globe.—*Vida Milholland.*

## Encouragement from Fraternal Organization Leader

I LIKE particularly your determined stand in holding the matter of suffrage before the women at this time.—*Bina West, Supreme Commander World's Benefit Association of the Maccabees.*

## The West Protests to Congress

WESTERN women are outraged by the imprisonment of the pickets. A violation of the constitutional rights of American citizens. Only the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment this session as a war measure will stop this agitation. We are holding you responsible for quick action to avert disaster.—*Telegram sent to Colorado Congressional delegation by Colorado State Committee, National Woman's Party—Bertha W. Fowler, Chairman.*

## Soldiers of the Woman's Party

SPLENDID work! Congratulations to the brave soldiers of the Woman's Party.—*Mrs. W. B. Broadwell, San Francisco, Cal.*

## Support from Indiana

HURRAH for the standard bearers! We are with you heart and soul.—*Eleanor Barker, chairman of Indiana Branch, National Woman's Party.*

## Massachusetts Women Wire Prisoners

WOMAN'S Section, District Prison.—Deep sympathy and support to you in your fight for democracy and the freedom of women.—*Elizabeth M. Edwards, Genevieve M. Fuller, Anna M. Morrill, Teresa Kelley, Delia McDonough.*

## An Absent Picket Rejoices

THANK heaven there is one organization of women who stand firm in their demand for democracy. I rejoice in being one of Alice Paul's pickets.—*Florence Bayard Hilles, chairman Delaware Branch, National Woman's Party.*

## Support from New Jersey

CONGRATULATIONS and best wishes for the pickets. I wish I were there. I am trying to do my bit here.—*Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, chairman of New Jersey Branch, National Woman's Party.*

## Mass Meeting Endorses Picket

MASS meeting here unanimous in hearty endorsement of the picket policy of the National Woman's Party and indignant at imprisonment of pickets.—*Bertha W. Fowler, Colorado Springs, Colorado.*

## Responsibility Is with the Government

THE responsibility for our protest is with the government and not with the women of America, and I should like to add a further profession of faith. We are at war; it is our business to lick Germany; every step that we take toward democracy makes quicker and surer the licking.—*Eunice Dana Brannan, chairman Woman's Party, in the New York Sun, June 29.*

## World publicity for the "New Freedom"

IT (the action of the Woman's Party) is a fine world challenge thrown down. Not only national enfranchisement but international enfranchisement of women is now before the reading world.—*Elsie Hill.*


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